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THE ROMAN SOLDIER

IMPERATOR

Originally, as here, the victorious Roman general, saluted with this title by his soldiers in the field. The Emperors, however, usurped the title exclusively for themselves as a matter of hereditary right.

THE ROMAN SOLDIER

SOME ILLUSTRATIONS REPRESENTATIVE OF
ROMAN MILITARY LIFE
WITH SPECIAL REFERENCE TO BRITAIN

BY
AMÉDÉE FORESTIER

WITH AN INTRODUCTION BY
IAN A. RICHMOND, M.A.
Department of Archæology, Queen's University, Belfast

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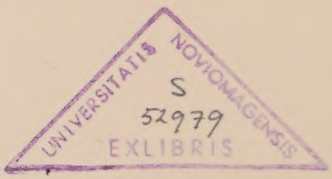

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PREFACE

My object in this book is to show in a series of drawings the successive changes in the uniform, equipment and arms of the Roman soldier from the foundation of Rome in the eighth century before Christ to the end of the Empire in 476 A.D. *I hope that the volume may be found useful by students, writers, actors, and all who wish to represent to themselves and to others the general appearance of the Roman soldier at different periods.*

It has been customary to illustrate a stereotyped form of equipment which prevailed actually for only about two centuries, but it should prove of interest to follow the evolution from the beginning to the Middle Ages, in which, as may be seen in Byzantine works of art, the Roman tradition was maintained for a long time.

I have made it my duty to secure accurate information on the many points involved in order to give my pictures a genuine documentary value ; in this connection I would acknowledge my indebtedness to the authorities listed on the next page, and particularly to M. Paul Couissin's scholarly book "Les armes romaines" which has proved of the greatest assistance. These studies are necessarily much abbreviated, but, short as they are, they may help the imagination to re-construct the military aspect of Romano-British civilisation.

A. FORESTIER.

Dulwich, 1928.

SOME AUTHORITIES CONSULTED
IN CONNECTION WITH THE ILLUSTRATIONS

The British Museum, Victoria and Albert Museum, and Guildhall Museum, London.

The Museum at St. Germain, and the Artillery Museum, Paris.

The Museum at Homburg, Germany.

E. Keble Chatterton, *Sailing Ships and their Story.*

R. G. Collingwood, *Roman Britain.*

Paul Couissin, *Les armes romaines.*

Daremberg and Saglio, *Dictionnaire des antiquités grecques et romaines.*

Victor Duruy, *Histoire romaine and Histoire des Romains.*

Charles Garnier and A. Amman, *L'habitation humaine.*

E. Grasset, *Costumes de guerre de l'âge du bronze, et de l'ère gauloise.*

Gusman, *Pompei.*

Sir George Holmes, *Ancient and Modern Ships,* Part I.

Jules Martha, *L'art étrusque.*

Pauly-Wissowa, *Real-Encyclopädie,* article "*Geschütze.*"

Racinet, *Le costume historique.*

Salomon Reinach, *Catalogue illustré des antiquités nationales, Musée St. Germain.*

J. E. Sandys, *Companion to Latin Studies.*

William Smith, *Dictionary of Greek and Roman antiquities,* 3rd edition.

Alexander Spelz, *Das farbige Ornament aller historischen Stil: das alterthum.*

Amédée Thierry, *Alaric.*

Augustin Thierry, *Récits des temps mérovingiens,* illustrated by Jean Paul Laurens.

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INTRODUCTION

THE Roman world in general, and Roman Britain in particular, have been of recent years much in the public eye. Newspapers have boomed them; schoolmasters have praised them; and an increasing number of wise visitors have learnt what a pleasant holiday can be spent among the Roman monuments of our island, from the south coast, with its great fortresses like Pevensey and Porchester, to the valleys of the Tyne and Irthing, where Hadrian's frontier-wall graces its lofty pedestal of basalt crags. Such visitors are not deep students. They journey to see historical remains in the spirit of Canterbury pilgrims; yet they are not undesirous of understanding what they see. But the game of holiday-learning has conditions; the facts presented should be entertaining and simple, rather than tame and complicated. So it is that in historical guiding, local *ciceroni*, who know the rules, win more points than those who do not.

Accordingly, specialists will find in this book only the simple facts which they have assimilated long ago. It is meant to supply pilgrims to our Roman monuments with statements which neither local guides nor antiquaries tend to give them. Mr. Forestier offers here, in picture, simple answers to those first questionings about the Roman army which occur to anyone considering Roman history for the first time. What manner of men were the Roman soldiers? How did they come to dominate, by gradual process, Italy, the Mediterranean Basin, and Western Europe, not to mention Palestine, the Balkans and Asia Minor? Had they some special gift for fighting; or was their equipment better than that of their opponents? How did it happen that many soldiers of the Empire were not natives of Italy? Why did Mr. Kipling eventually give us the masterly picture of Britons fighting Rome's battles in their own country? Or how came Kingsley to

write his lurid description of Gothic free-lances upsetting the high life of Alexandria, the greatest City of Roman Egypt?

THE SOLDIER OF LOCAL NEEDS

Like all soldiers of the ancient world, the Roman soldier was originally the able-bodied man of a small community, fighting to protect his folk and his lands from jealous neighbours. There can be no doubt that the Romans were right in believing that they themselves became such soldiers as soon as Rome existed; so we go back to the middle of the eighth century before Christ, when the City had been founded upon a group of hillocks in the lower Tiber valley, where was a good river-crossing and fertile soil, exciting the jealousy of the hill-folk near by. The organisation of this first army is obscure, but analogy and tradition combine to show that, in order not to disturb the balance of power within the State, it was levied from the noble caste, and commanded by the King. The armour worn, as remains of burials show, did not differ much throughout Italy. But types were not yet classified, and much experiment was in progress. Offensive weapons were still the cutting-sword, carried upon the shoulder-strap, and the long thrusting-spear, both adapted to stand-up fighting at close quarters. It was necessary to make a stand in order to defend fields as well as hearths, since the loss of crops might have grave consequences for a small and isolated community.

North of the Alps, where life was less settled, and in Greece, where land-hunger induced war, necessity compelled invention to march rather faster than in Italy. But even so early as the eighth century, the Etruscans (roving folk from the Near East, as is now universally understood) were bringing with them to Italy armour of essentially Greek type. Owing to its cost and cumbrousness, this armour never completely ousted the lighter and more pliant Italic type. Yet it created a standard of heavy-armoured infantry which was to last for some time.

It quickly became clear, however, that if good armour was the deciding factor in pitched battles, wealth was as important as nobility. This determines the next stage. The Roman state and her rivals grow, and the new model army, introduced by King Servius Tullius in 578—535 B.C., so tradition has decided, is based entirely upon quotas of wealth. All property-owning citizens serve as soldiers, and are arranged according to wealth and age. The regulation armour is graded by wealth, and the heaviest armed receive smiths for field-repairs. Discipline, the *stabilimentum Romani imperii,* is already recognised as sufficiently important to demand the institution of special divisions of buglers and trumpeters, who play tunes appropriate to special needs. Cavalry is organised; the horses and fodder are provided by a special tax, paid by widows and orphans who cannot fight. The arrangement of this army in battle has been much discussed. But it is clear that, whatever the details, the whole scheme is a close battle-line, six deep, based upon a stationary conception of fighting, and unsuited to quick movement or extended order. The army is still organised for home service.

Tradition dates the first important adaptation to the needs of foreign service to the time of the war against the neighbouring town of Veii. The campaign involved a ten-year siege (406—396), and the Roman soldier both went into winter-quarters and received pay for the first time. He is not yet a professional; but pay is required in order to compensate for so long an absence from home. The need for frequent aggressive warfare introduces a more open battle order; and a new weapon is invented, the heavy javelin (*pilum*), which is thrown before charging, and has a soft point, meant to bend and stick in whatever it penetrates. This is to be of great help in crippling those who depend for defence upon the shield. Much attention also is being paid to the art of encamping for the night. Soldiers are expected to be able to entrench themselves behind a mound and portable stakes, and their disposition in camp assumes regular order. In

high command, the place of the King is now taken by one or both of two Consuls, elected yearly, and not always fitted to command armies. But this disadvantage is for the moment glozed over by the discipline and orderliness of the army, unequalled inside or outside of Italy. The Roman burghers have become the *Stosstruppen* of their day.

The orderliness thus acquired is accompanied by a standardisation in armour. A metal-plated leather cuirasse is evolved and worn by those who have the property-qualification to warrant the expense, while the poorer soldier wears a square breast-plate. And there is invented a new kind of shield, oblong in shape and convex; it is four feet high, and can be used to form a wall against charges, or a roof against missiles. Blows glance off the convex surface. So the army is now equipped for the offensive; and by the formation of alliances, by their breakdown, and by the formation of counter-alliances in turn, the Roman soldier comes to be acting throughout Italy. The allied states are expected to provide contingents for the army; but these are inferior in numbers, efficiency and discipline. Usually they provide light-armed troops and cavalry, in which the Roman army is deficient. The new army is almost universally successful, if well commanded, but it is not exempt from disaster amid new experiences. By a great charge with their sweeping swords, the Gauls mowed the Roman line down at the Allia (390), while Pyrrhus was to win later (280) a great victory by means of an elephant charge at Heraclea. But neither defeat was decisive; and the Romans soon learnt to adapt themselves to the new ways of fighting. The fault was more often with the Consul commander than with the soldier.

THE CHANGE FROM LOCAL TO IMPERIAL NEEDS

Until the close of the second century B.C., the army remains much the same. But it has become much more expert. It has had to face the long Hannibalic Wars,

during which the whole freedom of Italy was at stake. And its success there is due to patience and discipline much more than to brilliant tactics. Many times the inefficiency of a Consul almost lost all. Even discipline, which some commanders make a fetish, is grossly neglected by others, with disastrous consequences. On the whole, the army is becoming much more technical. The construction of spring-guns and siege-machinery comes to be studied as an art; the erection of an encampment is a matter of rule, and Polybius gives us a glimpse of the soldier-surveyors with their different coloured ranging-flags. But the war is an immense strain. After a great disaster like Cannae (216) slaves and ex-slaves have to be enrolled in the army. Still greater is the strain on the Italian allies, who are now becoming subjects rather than equals. The aid of mercenary troops from allied sovereigns or states outside Italy is not disdained, and this marks the beginning of an important method of supplementing the Burgher-army. In Rome itself recruiting becomes detested and evaded.

Despite the grievous lack of professionalism and coordination, the system survived the Punic wars. But soon afterwards, when it became necessary to govern already Spain, Macedonia, Greece, Tunisia, and presently, the South of France and Illyria, the collapse began. In order to govern these provinces the yearly magistrates, Consuls and Praetors, received provincial governorships as extensions of their year of office. This system relied too much upon the personal quality of the governor; and the police-work and guerilla warfare in the provinces and on the frontiers is wearing out the Burgher-army. Yet it is surprising what can be done. Already by 133, the armies before Numantia are constructing field-works equal in size and technical excellence to much of the work done by professional armies in later days. Important buildings, like granaries and barracks, have already arrived at something like standard pattern. No other army in the world is capable of constructing such field-works. But

decay is setting in rapidly. By the end of the second century the citizen cavalry is gone, and in its place are enrolled auxiliary levies from the tribes of Gaul, Numidia, or Spain. The discontent in Italy is reaching fever-pitch. The principle that legionaries must be men of property still exists; the Romans are doing all possible to evade service; and more work is being foisted upon the unhappy Italian allies. Nor is the heavy infantry adapted to guerilla warfare; it has borrowed the Iberian stabbing-sword, but has not yet learnt to use it. Only towards the end of the century is the principle of drill borrowed from gladiators and introduced by Rutilius in Gaul, in order to enable the soldier to stand against mighty Gallic swordsmen. But the innovation came too late to save the Burgher-army. At the close of the century, during the African war and the Cimbric invasions of Italy, thousands of citizens became martyrs to inefficiency, and demonstrated that the old-world conception of the army was impracticable.

It fell to Marius, once a private soldier, to introduce the needed reform. The property-qualification for the legionary was abolished, and thus the character of the army was completely changed, for it could be adopted as a profession by the poor citizen. But this introduced a terrible danger to the state. The army now consisted of soldiers of fortune; and provincial governors, whose status has been noted, or generals, could now receive extensions of command to finish a given war. Suppose such a proconsul raised a faithful army, attached to him personally, who could turn him out of his command? Might he not become Dictator? This temptation to absolutism was great. It ruined Marius; it created Sulla. Presently, Crassus, Pompey and Cæsar were all to play for the same stake. Antony and Augustus repeated the process, and the end of it all was the Julio-Claudian Imperial House. In sixty years the reforms of Marius killed the Republic.

Yet these reforms were just in time to tide the state over an unbelievably grave crisis. The allies, unable to

bear their woes any longer, engineer a great revolt. Rome is to be wiped out, and the new army is strained to the utmost in quelling the attempt. The principle of levying provincial troops *en masse*, and of giving to them the citizenship at discharge for services rendered, is recognised for the first time; and these non-Italic citizens, and their sons (Spaniards in the known case), become eligible for service in the legions. After the revolt there is an equally important change. All Italy to the Po (and soon to the Alps) receives the citizenship, and so the burden of legionary service is extended from the Romans to Italians the world over. There are no more Italian "allies," and the tendency to enrol and enfranchise provincials continues. The stage is set for personalities who will gather about themselves a force to master the state. And the soldier remains Roman, but Roman in quite a new sense.

THE IMPERIAL ARMY

During the last century of the Republic all the tendencies so far described come to a head. For a moment, after Sulla had placed the machinery for controlling the appointments to provincial governorships in the hands of the Senate, it looked as if the constitution so reformed was going to be strong enough to save itself from *pronunciamenti* or military conspiracies. But by giving to Pompey the command of the whole Mediterranean for a Pirate War, the Senate committed political suicide. Henceforward the whole aim of every notable politician was to create such a command for himself. When Cæsar has built up a great army in Gaul, the time is ripe for the dissolution of the Republic; and the main question becomes whether anyone strong enough to control the armed forces will arise, or whether the whole Roman world will disrupt amid internal conflict. After the fall of Cæsar the position becomes so bad, that there is danger of the establishment of a monarchy on Eastern lines.

In the end Augustus emerges triumphant; and by slow stages he reforms the constitution, holding old

Republican offices in new fashion and combination, and graced by the old title given by soldiers to their victorious general, Imperator. The government of military provinces is left in his hands, and administered through his legates, commanding limited troops through subordinate legionary legates, in turn appointed by the Emperor. The number of standing legions, each 4,000—6,000 strong, is settled for each province. Definite quarters are built for them; they become ultra-professional and steadily more provincial. Standing-quarters create small towns, in which a traditional soldier-class is reared. Some legions at first share quarters; but this is too dangerous. It may cause grave mutinies, as in Pannonia. Again, the command of one or two legions among so few makes *pronunciamenti* possible. After the close of Nero's reign there is an epidemic of them, not entirely stamped out until the end of the century. Joint encampments are abolished by then. But with the danger-limit of legions so low, the problem of Imperial Defence becomes complicated. Slowly the conquests of Cæsar in north-western Europe are rounded off. Early in the first century an Elbe-Danube frontier becomes a brief possibility; then the line recedes to the Rhine, and bulges out again to the Neckar. Britain is taken over, though the conquest is never completed; and early in the second century, Dacia and Arabia are added by Trajan. Citizen-legions cannot garrison effectively all those provinces, and, in order to solve the problem, the old auxiliary system is developed upon a large scale. Corps of provincials are levied from suitable peoples, and are quartered—five hundred or a thousand in paper strength—in forts of standard type, linked by military roads, which form lines of penetration or networks all over the frontier lands, and radiate from legionary fortresses. These folk use their native arms and make good frontier troops, half-soldier, half-police, receiving the citizenship on discharge after twenty-five years' service. The frontiers become so settled that it is possible to control and watch all slight movements upon them, and to extract

valuable dues at the entrances to the Empire. Much thought and energy is spent upon perfecting frontier control; frontier-roads receive block-houses and signal-stations. Boundaries are marked and become barriers: they are supplied with forts and a large garrison of auxiliaries. The barriers assume definite military form, and soon Hadrian's Wall will provide a classic example of such evolution. Normally the system works perfectly, and in the second century it is the regular mode of frontier control all over the Empire. But it is not designed against invasions. In those moments the legions emerge and are expected to deal with the trouble. When they do not, there is a big disaster. But the frontier land is usually a wide net, in which the invaders can be caught without disturbing the peaceful non-military world. In times of peace the soldiers are kept busy with useful tasks of construction, not only in the military area, but outside it. Road-systems, dykes or canals, aqueducts or bridges, and frontier works are thus constructed without great expense. The soldiers build their own forts and quarters. But the work is usually done by legionaries who are more intensively trained, and have richer traditions than the auxiliaries.

During the second century, however, the sharper of these distinctions are passing away, as once the distinction between Roman and Italian had done in Italy. As more provincials receive the citizenship, and as the legionaries, often themselves provincial, marry provincial wives, the sympathy of the army becomes steadily more provincial and less Italian. At the end of the century the feeling is so strong that Severus can enrol in the Imperial Guard legionaries who horrify the Capital by their bearing and uncouth language. The legionaries are now recruited on the spot, and are permitted by Severus to live out of barracks with their wives. The principle of local recruiting also applies to auxiliary regiments. Whatever their original nationality, they now absorb the natives of the province wherein they are located; and recruits all become

citizens on their discharge, and they or their sons are eligible for the legions. In the end the legions become the Senior Service, and there is little real difference between them and the auxiliaries except in weapons, drill and name. The fact is recognised by Caracalla, who extends in 214 the citizenship to all free-born in the Empire. Within the Empire there is now no bar to service in the legions whatever. From becoming Italian, with provincial auxiliaries, the army has now become entirely provincial.

This system has grave dangers which emerge in the third century. The provincial spirit in the army now fosters the first-century idea that Emperors need not be set up from Rome as a matter of course. Φιλεῖ δὲ τικτειν ὕβρις. It finds expression the moment that the supply of good Emperors fails. Commodus is followed by generals like Albinus of Britain, Pescennius Niger, and Severus. Forty years later *pronunciamenti* have become chronic, and it looks as if the time of Rome's power were fulfilled. External troubles arise amid disaster within the Empire. The frontiers are robbed of troops; and the temptation to raid is too great for the jealous non-Roman world. By 275 the neglect has lost for ever both Dacia and the Neckar line.

But recovery is still possible. Provincialism has not yet bred nationalism. The Gallic National Empire is a great failure, and raises no spirit contrary to Latin civilisation. In the end there is only one solution. The big provinces, all Imperial by now, and the legions must be divided, while bureaucracy multiplies. When order is restored, the whole system is reformed thoroughly by Diocletian, and Constantine continues his work. Reduced to one thousand strong, the legions are redistributed all over the Empire, though some portion of the old unit is usually retained in its old quarters. The frontier garrisons are left where they are; but they are legally tied to the spot, and not allowed to desert the service. Frontier guard-duty becomes a hereditary trade. A principle begun in the second century comes into wide use

in the fourth, and the frontier corps are supplemented by new drafts of unfixed number, enrolled *en masse* from tribes outside the Empire. So in its last brilliance the Empire revives the old solution of the moribund Republic. These barbarian troops, mixed with drafts from the legions, come to form an Imperial field force. But how long will the Empire stand the strain? It has to assimilate these foreign elements and make them good and loyal citizens. Again, by the end of the century, all the high army commands are passing to Teutons, and Teuton troops make up the army list of Honorius on an alarming scale. Half is provincial, and half utterly non-Latin and barbaric. Nor is the outside world slow to perceive this change. Between the quarrels of the Imperial House, the treachery of provincial governors, and the eager press of external nations to enter the lucrative and gorgeous Imperial Service, the Empire is reeling. By the opening of the fifth century an external King like Alaric is asking for a share in the Empire, and receives the dignity of Master of the Horse, vindicating his claim by taking Rome. Stilicho, himself a Vandal, is not exempt from suspicion of collusion. Only a push is needed, and the whole top-heavy structure will fall. Presently the long expected disaster comes—the great wave of Huns, the worst invasion Europe has had to face for centuries, sweeps into the west. It is broken at Châlons, by the united Roman and Visigothic armies. But the recoil is as disastrous as the blow; it disturbs all Central Europe, already in a ferment, and the West-Roman Empire comes to an end amid a welter of folk-wanderings.

Belfast, 1928. IAN A. RICHMOND.

USEFUL BOOKS FOR THE STUDY OF THE ROMAN ARMY

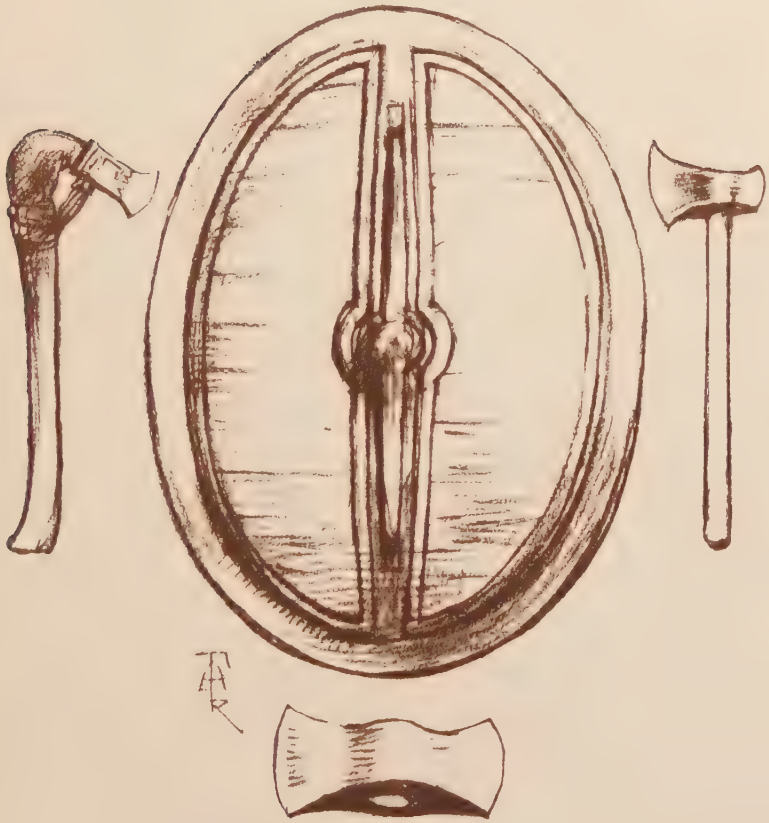
The following books and articles are recommended to those who wish to pursue the subject of the Roman Army further. The available material in English is not large in quantity, and it has therefore been thought wise to mention also the more important books by foreign scholars. This table will supplement Mr. Forestier's list on page 6.

H. M. D. Parker	-	*The Roman Legions.* Oxford, 1928.
G. L. Cheesman	-	*Auxilia of the Roman Imperial Army.* Oxford, 1924.
Baillie Reynolds	-	Vigiles *of Imperial Rome.*
M. Rostovtzeff	-	Augustus and the Roman Army: Cap II, p. 39, in his *Social and Economic History of the Roman Empire.*
H. Stuart Jones	-	*Companion to Roman History:* see article on the Roman Army.
P. Couissin	- -	*Les armes romaines.* Paris, 1926.
Th. Mommsen	- -	*Die Konscriptionsordnung der Römischen Kaiserzeit. Hermes,* vol. XIX, 1884.
A. von Domaszewski		*Rangordnung der Römischen Heeres, Bonner Jahrbücher,* 117, 1908.
R. Grosse	- -	*Romische Militärgeschichte.*
L. Ritterling	-	art. *"Legio"* in Pauly-Wissowa's *Real-Encyclopädie.*
C. Cichorius	- -	arts. *"Ala"* and *"Cohors"* in Pauly-Wissowa's *Real-Encyclopädie.*
E. Fabricius	- -	art. *"Limes"* in Pauly-Wissowa's *Real-Encyclopädie.*
V. Hoffiller	- -	Oprema Rimskoga Vojnika, u prvo doba carstva. In *"Vjesnika Hrv. Arheoloskoga Drustva."* N.S. xi., xii.
J. Curle	- -	A Roman frontier post and its people.
F. Haverfield	- -	Ford Lectures on Roman Britain.

I A.R.

ILLUSTRATIONS
AND DESCRIPTIVE NOTES

Primitive Bronze-Age Warriors—

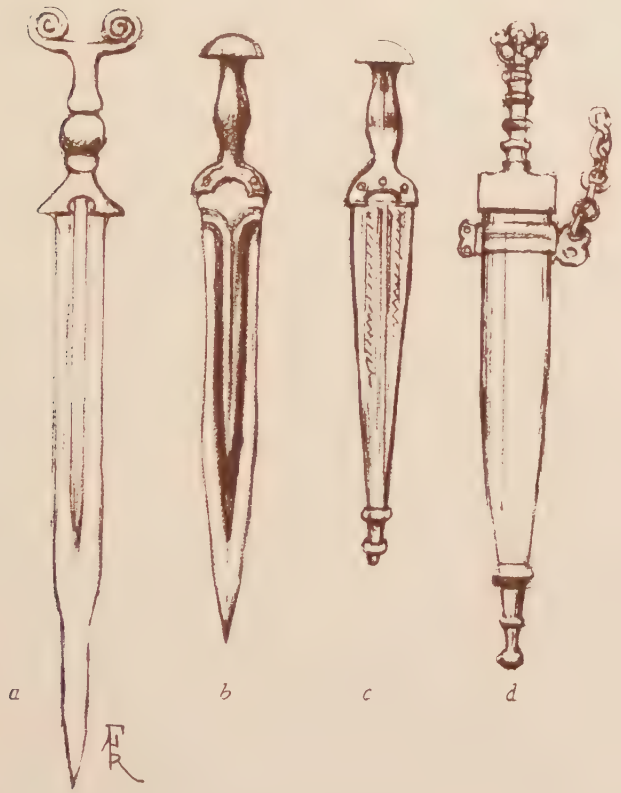


Weapons ill-adapted for skilful fighting: wooden shield (*scutum*), with bronze boss (*umbo*) and brace (*spina*) for reinforcement; axes badly hafted, with small blades.

—In Facing Different Climates and Conditions—

Bronze-age Warriors. To the right is a brazen-armed Greek, who protects his cramped territory by a standing fight in the heat. Hence the difference in costume. Northerners struggle for existence in cold climes, but less restricted space.
The figure on the left represents a Gaulish chief, reconstructed by the Abbé Bourgeois from discoveries at Hautcrive. He wears a conical helmet and a short sword with small hilt. Seated is a Gaulish chief of the Danubian region; he has a double-crested globular helmet, and a tall sword with a peculiar hilt of bronze and iron.

BRONZE-AGE WARRIORS

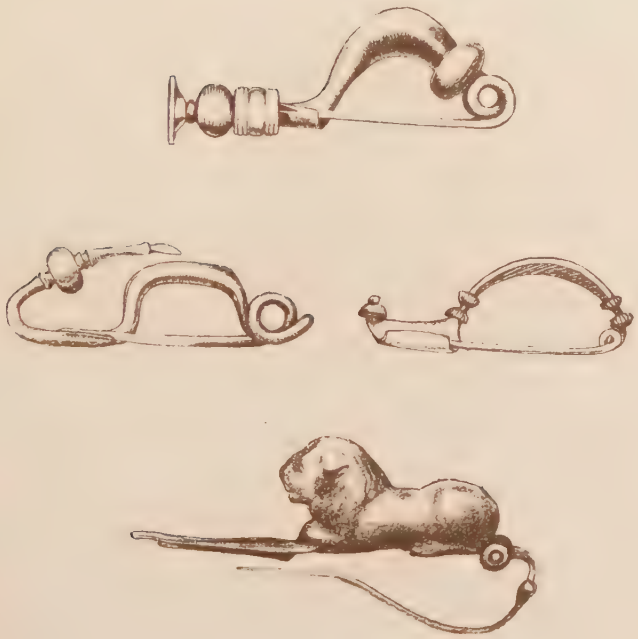


Swords and daggers: a stage in evolution which did not last; the sword is too short to slash, the dagger too long to stab. (*a*) and (*b*) are bronze swords used by the first Romans; (*c*) a dagger with triangular blade; (*d*) a short sword (*gladius*) of bronze and iron.

ITALIC BRONZE-AGE SOLDIERS ON LOOK-OUT. About 1000 B.C. The cuirasse and helmet are still primitive, Greek improvements have not yet arrived.
The standing figure has a spear with a bronze head, a two-piece helmet and decorated pectoral. His oval shield is of wood. The helmet of the kneeling figure is round, with pointed top; he carries the circular shield (*clipeus*).

ITALIC BRONZE-AGE WARRIORS ON LOOK-OUT

—And Rejoices in Resplendent Display :



Cloak-pins (*fibulæ*), required for heavy material, give scope for rich ornamentation in gold, silver and bronze.

AN ITALIC FARMER OF THE BRONZE-AGE ARMING FOR BATTLE. The typical bronze-age equipment descends to the middle and lower classes. The farmer wears a bell-shaped bronze helmet strapped under the chin. His round shield is painted or embossed, sometimes with protective charms. His javelin has a long narrow quadrangular head.

AN ITALIC FARMER OF THE BRONZE AGE ARMING FOR BATTLE

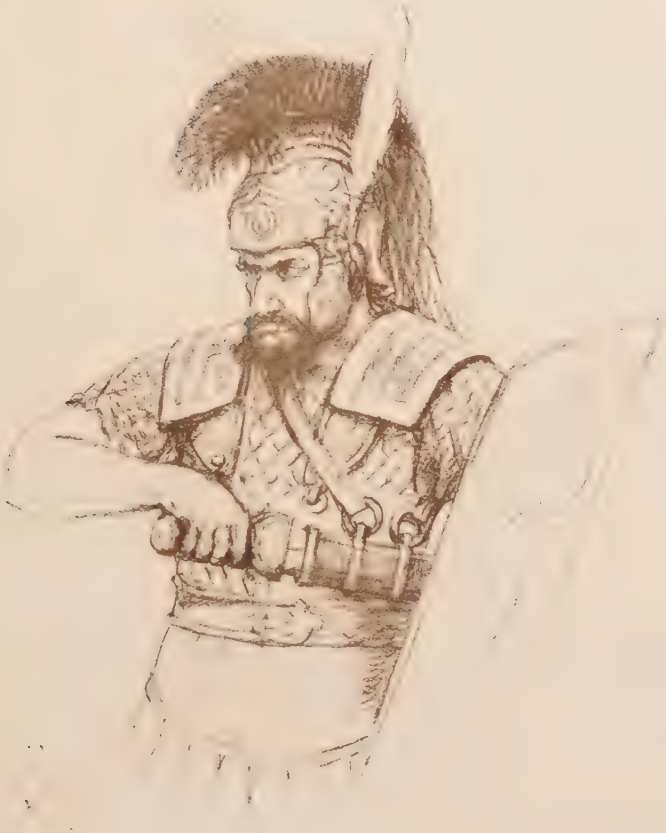
A primitive helmet of the bronze-age, from a specimen found in a grave on the Esquiline at Rome. The chin-strap is of leather.

—Becomes the Low Standard of the Next—

A Hoplite in the army of Servius Tullius. Italy adopts equipment from the Levant, better adapted to a crowded, hot country. The disadvantages of the older equipment may be deduced from the rear figure, with the inferior old Italic armament—globular helmet, pectoral and large oval shield (*scutum*).
The Hoplite in the foreground wears a Boeotian helmet and a two-piece breastplate, fixed by a belt (*cingulum*). Helmet, breastplate, shield and greaves all of bronze.

A HOPLITE IN THE ARMY OF SERVIUS TULLIUS

—Although Detailed Perfection is to Seek :



The sword is still awkwardly suspended, and the shield, although an improvement, can be bettered. The cuirasse is of metal scales sewn on to leather, with shaped metal shoulder-pieces.

—The Basis Remains a Fight at Close Quarters.

A Scene at an Etruscan Feast. Here a dancing woman intervenes at a feast to prevent a conflict between an Etruscan spearman and an archer. Armour is still adapted for spear-fighting, with the sword as a later resource. Bowmen are rare, since really strong bows are hard to make.

A SCENE AT AN ETRUSCAN FEAST

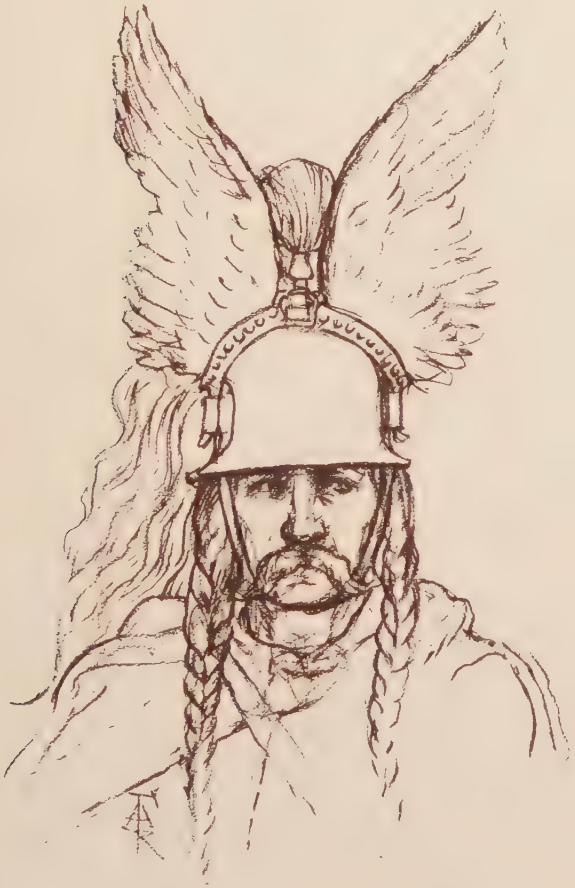
—Cavalry are Rarely Useful in Hill-Country—

The richer citizen (*eques*) can afford a horse, but it is ineffective in Italian marsh or mountain, in contrast with the great plains. The round shield is the special *palma equestris.*

Rorarius and Triarius of Camillus. By the time of Camillus (circa 396 B.C.) a great improvement has taken place in arms and tactics. The sword is better suspended; an oblong or oval shield gives better cover; a javelin increases the range of action, and gives new importance to the sword. But the poor still rely on swiftness for success. In the foreground is a *triarius* or heavy-armed infantryman, richly equipped. His general appearance is Greek, except for Roman oval *scutum* and Iberic sword. Behind him, the *rorarius*, or light-armed skirmisher, is the poorest of soldiers, armed with an ancient javelin (*verutum*), or sling and stones.

RORARIUS AND TRIARIUS OF CAMILLUS

—And Now Differ Greatly From the Gaul.

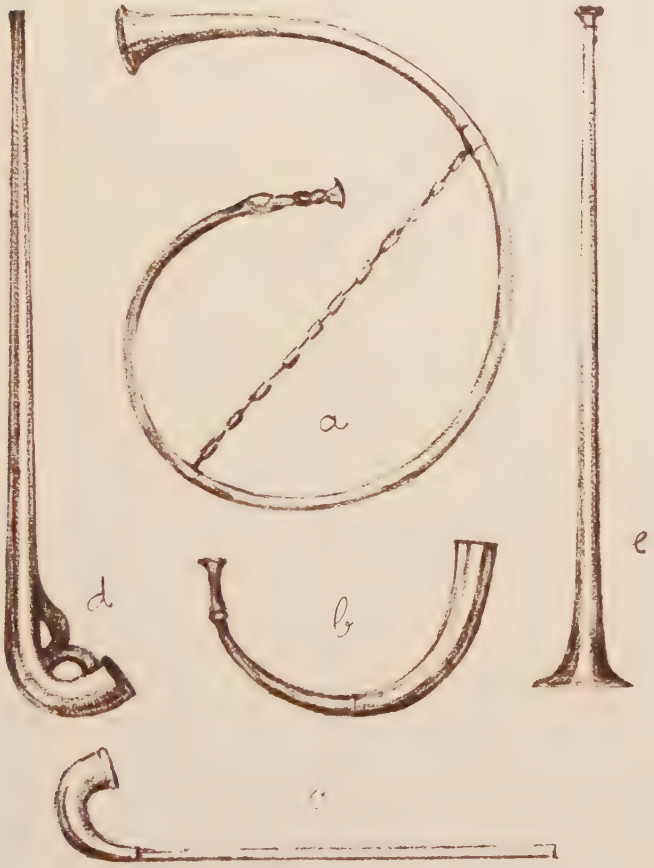


A Gaulish chief, his helmet crested with a pair of wings. The large and powerful Gauls present new problems, and rigid discipline is required to deal with their reckless, unbridled courage.

—*And Even From the Italian Ally.*

An Infantryman at an Inn. The Allies (confederate cities) now begin to form an important part of the Roman army, but their equipment is less standardised. Here is a rich infantryman of the first-class. He wears an elaborate bronze helmet, Iberic sword, Gaulish coat-of-mail, bronze greaves, oval shield, and heavy javelin (*pilum*).

AN INFANTRYMAN AT AN INN



Military trumpets have various forms: (*a*) the *cornu*, (*b*) the *bucina*, (*c* and *d*) the *lituus*, peculiar to the cavalry, (*e*) the *tuba*.

THE *CORNICEN* OR TRUMPETER. A *cornicen* sounds the watches (*vigiliæ*) on the space behind the rampart of a frontier fort. In this illustration he is shown playing upon the *cornu*. The *cornu* and *tuba* were sounded together as the signal to attack.

THE *CORNICEN* OR TRUMPETER

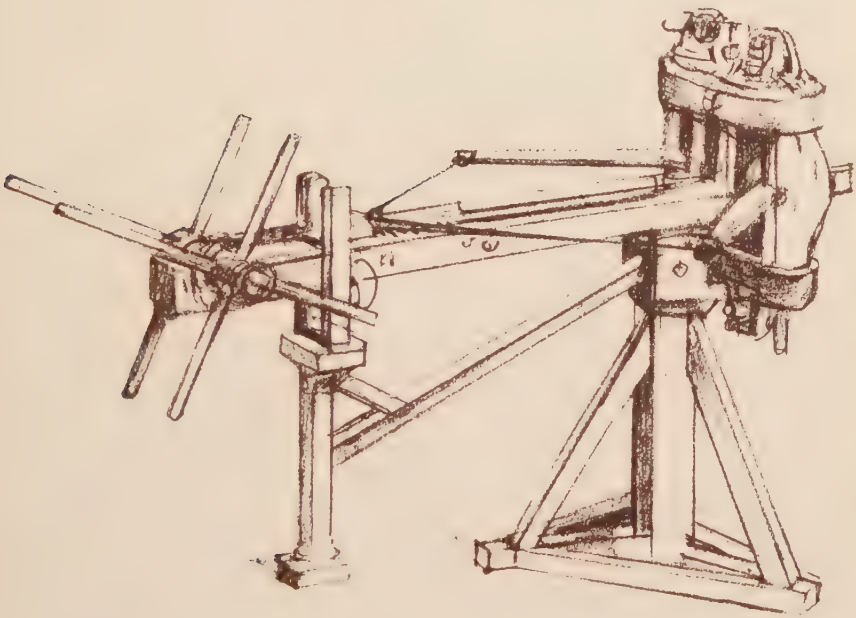
—*And Introduce Organised Discipline.*

To increase efficiency in drill and discipline, the drill-master (*lanista*) is introduced from the gladiators' schools. He teaches drill and obedience to signals from the trumpet. Here he marks the sand of the arena in preparation for a combat, while one of the gladiators announces the coming event by a blast on the horn.

—Add to this Training in Swordsmanship—

GLADIATORS. THE END OF THE COMBAT. Gladiators reared in special schools were rigidly drilled. Drill was first introduced into the army by Rutilius in Gaul (117 B.C.) to deal with northerners, and under the Empire it became a regular feature. In this picture the victor is a Samnite who has overcome a Thracian; each is armed after the manner of his people, and both—be it noted—carry the rectangular shield adopted later in the Roman army.

GLADIATORS. THE END OF THE COMBAT



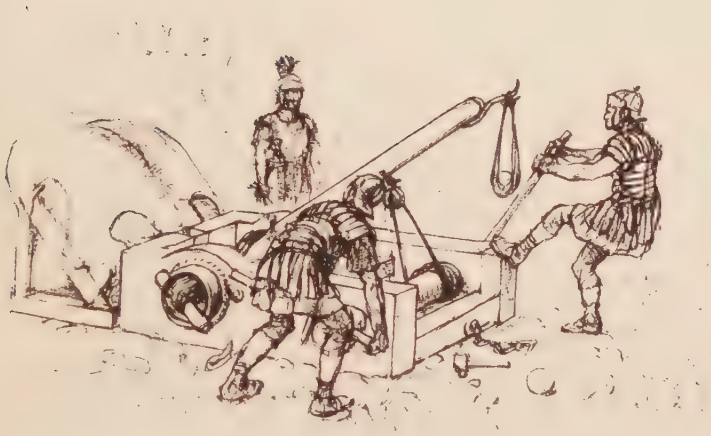
Artillery, invented by fourth-century Greece, was adopted by the Romans on a large scale in the second century. This drawing was made from a catapult (*ballista*) reconstructed for Napoleon III by Verchère de Reffye. With a similar reconstruction by Major E. Schramm of Dresden it was possible to shoot some three hundred yards.

—*And the Route-March*—

THE *IMPEDITUS*, OR FULLY-EQUIPPED FOOT SOLDIER. With drill came the route-march. Marius much improved the soldier's task by arranging the pack so that it could be carried on a pole, though hardly for long. Besides his own baggage, each soldier carried tools for pitching camp and raising earth-works. The infantryman was called *impeditus*, and in derision *mulus marianus*—the mule of Marius. Note the change in dress: there are no greaves; the tunic reaches to the knee; a thick cloak, dyed reddish-brown, and a woollen neck-cloth (*focale*) are worn, with hobnail sandals. The arms are a rectangular shield, an Iberic sword on the right thigh, a dagger (*pugio*) on left side, a cuirasse of scales or mail; a steel helmet, and two javelins.

THE *IMPEDITUS*, OR FULLY-EQUIPPED FOOT SOLDIER

—*Also Improvements in Siege-Tactics*



Here is the *onager,* the "wild ass," which had a great "kick," or recoil. It was worked by twisted rope, hair or sinew, but had one arm only, unlike the *ballista,* which had two. It was more dangerous to use, being liable to burst, with disastrous consequences. With the reconstruction by Verchère de Reffye stone balls were thrown up to 120 yards.

—Units Receive Regular Standards or Ensigns.

A Standard-Bearer in the Field. Until the time of Marius, units had no regular standard to which they might rally in battle. When these were introduced they were carried by a special standard-bearer (*signifer*), chosen for strength and valour, who preceded the column on the march and took his station in the hindmost rank of the maniple during the fight. Over the helmet and shoulders the skin of a wild beast was worn to inspire terror. The arms included an Iberic sword, a *lorica* of scales, and a small oval shield. A strap of leather was probably used to help in holding up the standard.

A STANDARD-BEARER IN THE FIELD

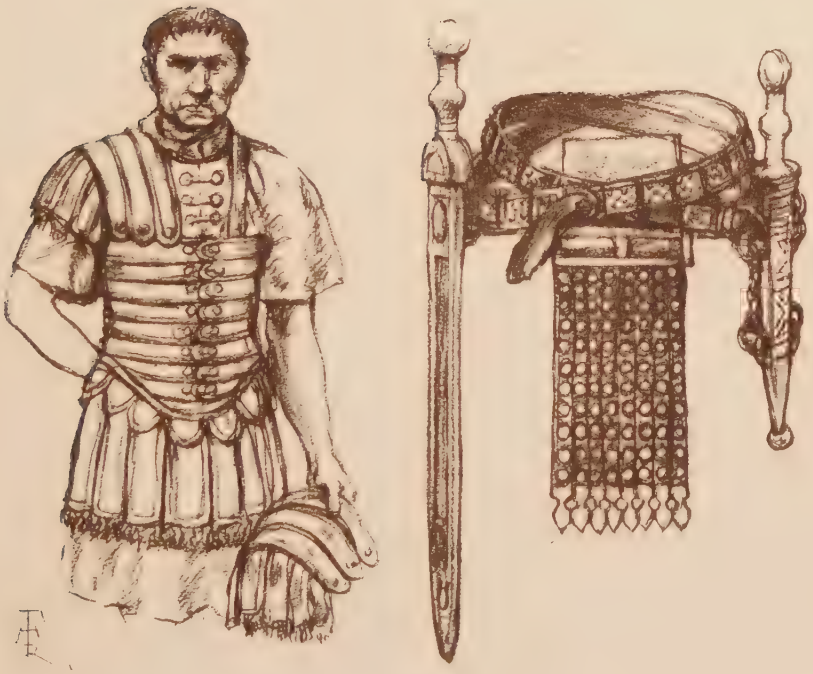
—But Standardisation is Not yet Complete.

Older fashions still continue and there is much variation in ornamentation, from elaborate plumed helmets to leather and felt caps. Poverty or inexperience still fulfils its needs in the old way. The sailor, who is seen above in a woollen cap, never adopts armour at all.

—With the Best Type of Equipment—

A Legionary Guarding Captives in the Field. He wears a distinctive Roman helmet with wide horizontal back peak, fine scale armour, a cuirasse over leather jacket; and leather breeches, adopted for colder climes. His shield is rectangular, and the Iberic sword is suspended from the military belt (*cingulum militare*), distinguished by the three overhanging leather ends; a dagger hangs from a separate belt on the left thigh.

A LEGIONARY GUARDING CAPTIVES IN THE FIELD



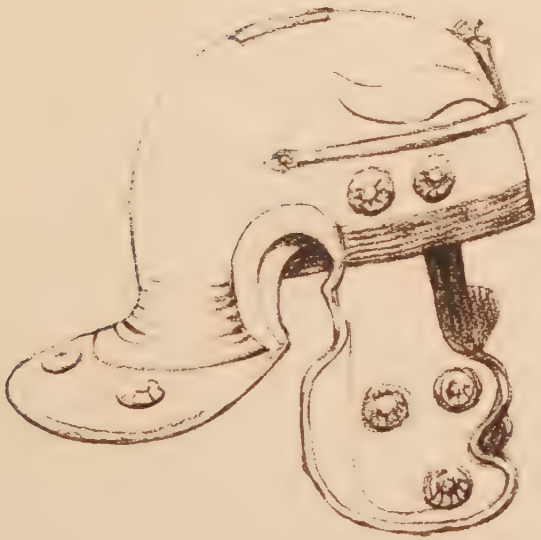
Another type of cuirasse is shown here, the *lorica segmentata* or articulated breastplate, not quite so efficient as chain mail, but more easily made. On the right is the *cingulum militare*. The sword, shield and dagger became standardised by the 1st century A.D.

—There Still Exist Older Types—

A Halt by the Roadside. The two seated infantrymen making a meal by the wayside have the older type of shield and helmet, the cheek pieces of the latter lifted up for greater comfort. The standing figure wears a Romano-Corinthian helmet with a plume of horsehair, and a protective plate over his scale armour.

A HALT BY THE ROADSIDE

—Which Provides Striking Contrasts.



This was the latest type of legionary helmet at the opening of the 1st century A.D. Note that the crest is removed in action and used on parade only.

AUXILIARY CAVALRY ATTACKING GERMAN TRIBESMEN. Since the rich-citizen-cavalry had meanwhile proved ill-disciplined and useless, the Romans were compelled to raise *auxilia,* corps of auxiliary cavalry from barbaric tribes; Spaniards and Numidians were the first favourites (2nd and 1st Centuries, B.C.): then came the turn of the Gauls and Germans. The auxiliary in the picture carries the lance (*hasta*) and a broad two-edged sword (*spatha*). His gleaming brass helmet has an iron visor. Hexagonal shield, red leather tunic, and leather breeches complete his equipment. Legs and feet go bare.

AUXILIARY CAVALRY ATTACKING GERMAN TRIBESMEN

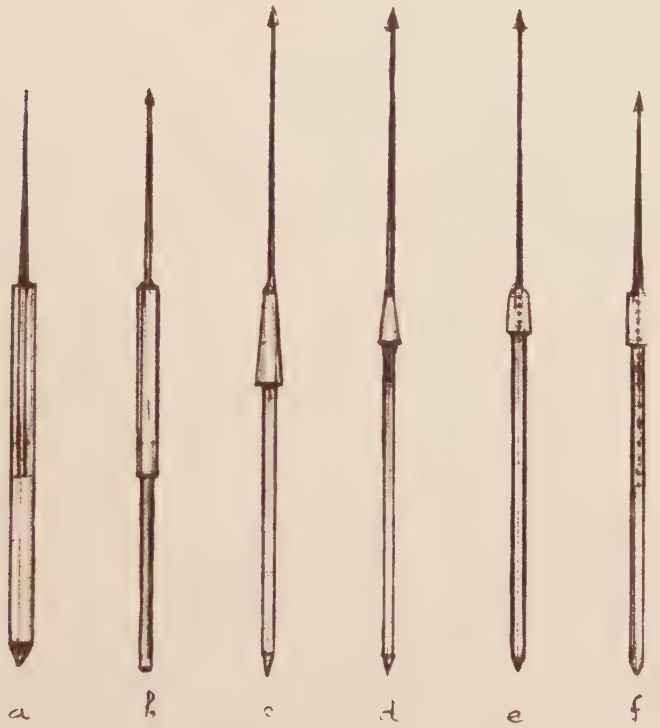
—Light-Spearmen or Slingers—

Light-infantrymen (*velites*) were also required to balance the legionary; they were armed with a round shield and short light javelins and wore a bear or wolf skin over the helmet. Slingers (*funditores*) were also much used; first Cretans and Balearic Islanders, then northerners.

—Tends to Obscure the Triumph of Standardisation.

A Legionary Sentry. By the 1st Century A.D., however, the armour of the legionary, here seen on duty outside the guardroom, has become completely standardised, the only difference being in regimental crests and *insignia*. This legionary is wearing a true Roman helmet, the classic *cassis;* a flexible breastplate, and a red cloak on his back. The *gladius ibericus* hangs from his left shoulder, and the military belt with its apron of leather flaps over his tunic. In his right hand is the *pilum*.

A LEGIONARY SENTRY

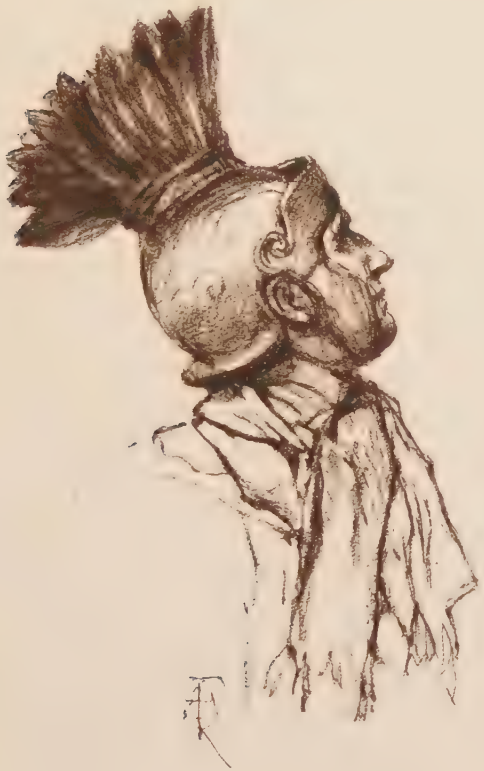


The *pilum* or javelin, thrown by the legionary before charging in battle, is most important. It has a soft nose which twists in the enemy's armour or shield and cannot be easily removed. The suggested reconstructions given above are by (*a*) Rustow; (*b*) Quicherat; (*c* and *d*) Lindenschmitt; (*e*) Schulten; (*f*) Couissin. There is no doubt about the general form.

A Centurion on the March. The centurion was the lowest of the higher officials of the legion, but perhaps the best-known of legionary officers. He was chosen on his personal merits, physical and moral, and passed by regular promotion from cohort to cohort. He wears silvered armour, and a helmet bearing the transverse crest distinctive of his office; greaves decorate his legs. In his right hand he carries his official staff, the *vitis*, a vine staff, with which to flog recalcitrant soldiers.

A CENTURION ON THE MARCH

—Or in Stock Issues of Different Armouries.

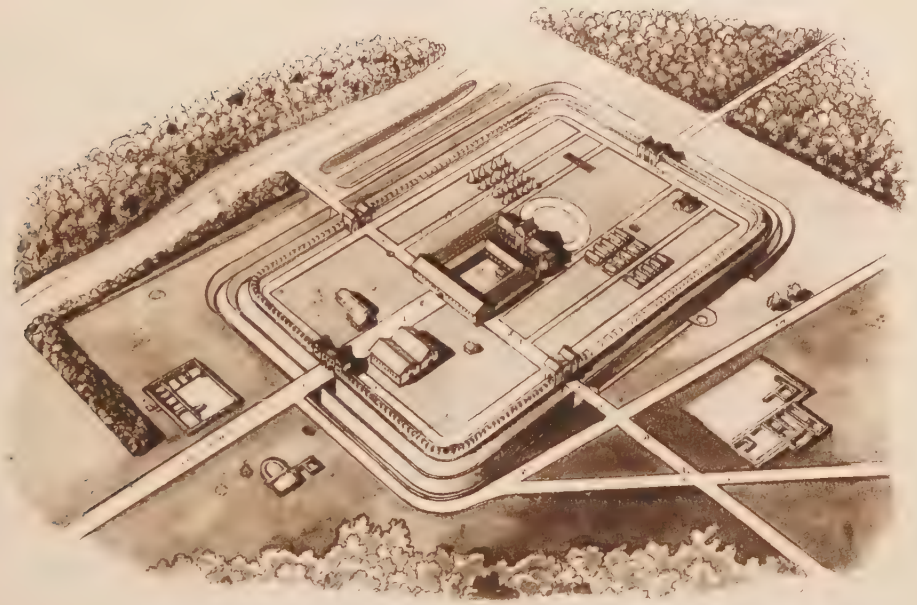


Each legion had its own armourers for standard repairs, but armour was issued from special factories in different parts of the Roman world, and each factory would produce its own type. This is an Attic helmet with a movable crest or plume of red and black feathers in two rows. The wearer has about his neck the *focale* or woollen muffler.

—As the Auxiliary Cavalry also—

At a Post-House. With the acquisition of northern provinces and the necessity for a standing garrison, the auxiliary cavalry came to be used largely for patrolling the great roads. Such a road, provided with a convenient posting station, for official use only, is shown here, with its varied scenes. The posting service was organised by Augustus for officials only, although permission to use it was sometimes given, as a rare privilege, to private travellers. Hostelries (*mansiones*) were provided on first-class roads. They were distant from each other a day's journey, and the interval was divided by smaller houses, *mutationes*, for change of horses. The post-house was invaluable for cavalry, and here a cavalry soldier is seen leading his lame horse to the *mansio*, where a veterinary surgeon may be found; stations so elaborately equipped were, of course, rare, and can have existed on few roads in Britain.

AT A POST-HOUSE



The cohorts or auxiliaries were stationed in small forts. Above is a reconstruction of the Saalburg fort, on the German frontier near Homburg. Built under Hadrian, it was partly restored by Kaiser Wilhelm II. The large central building is the headquarters (*praetorium*). Near the gate, in front of it, is a pair of granaries (*horrea*). All the tents and many large camp buildings do not figure in this plan, which indicates the shape and extent of the enclosure.

—*And is Stationed in Forts*—

A Fort in Cumberland. A view of Hardknott Fort, between Ambleside and Ravenglass, a small post between two large forts, which belongs to the age of Trajan, A.D. 98—117. Such forts as these replace in Britain the earthworks of Agricola's time. Their stone-built wall forms a rectangular enclosure with rounded angles and four gates. The fort has a regular street-plan. Most of the space is taken by long parallel barracks in rows, each for a *centuria* of eighty men. The garrison is five-hundred strong. A village has grown up beside the fort, and in it the soldiers' families and trades-folk live in half-timbered cottages, often protected by an earthwork.

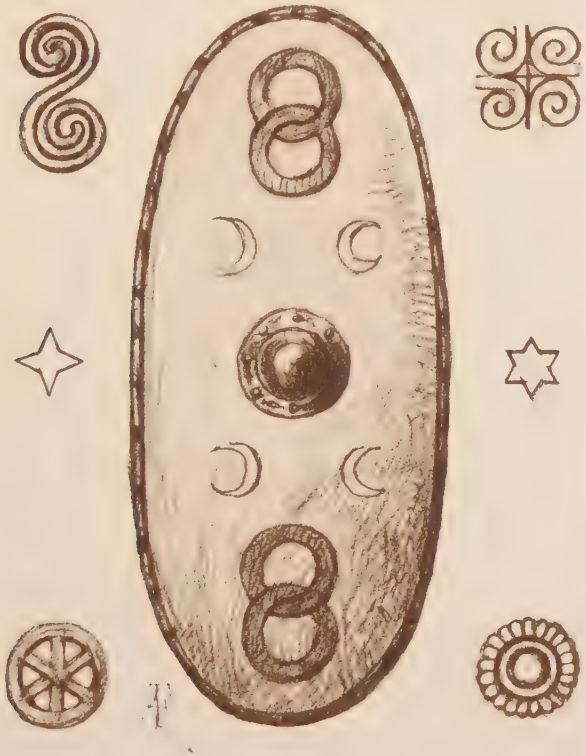
A FORT IN CUMBERLAND

This is a sailor at *Pons Aelius,* the Tyne Bridge on Hadrian's Wall at Newcastle. All important river-crossings of this sort would be guarded by an auxiliary fort.

Outside a Permanent Camp in Germany. Auxiliary soldiers, on retiring from the service, often settle down with their families in the bazaar or village settlement outside the permanent camp, which they are forbidden to enter. Often these bazaars grow into large villages or even towns. At the end of the road, shown here beyond the bridge over the double fosse, stands the *porta decumana* with its two arches. The soldier in the foreground dictates a letter to a public letter-writer, in this case a Greek.

OUTSIDE A PERMANENT CAMP IN GERMANY

Their Equipment also Moves Towards Standardisation—



The oval shields of the auxiliary cavalry bear emblems and symbols, sometimes of magical origin, which differ remarkably according to the unit. Illustrations of many of these are preserved to us in the *Notitia Dignitatum,* a fifth-century list of Imperial Officials and their insignia.

—And Often Approached That of the Legionary.

An Auxiliary at a Ferry on the Tyne. An abundance of leather distinguishes the equipment of this auxiliary, waiting for the ferry, from that of the legionary, but the *pilum* with which he is armed is essentially the legionary's weapon. His pectoral is of leather, an Iberic sword hangs from his left shoulder, an apron belt is worn over short leather breeches, and the rectangular *scutum* has re-appeared.

AN AUXILIARY AT A FERRY ON THE TYNE

—Yet Many Corps Retain Distinctive Weapons—

Roman policy encourages the auxiliary troops to employ the weapon (for example, this mace) which they were wont to use in their native land.

—Notably the Archers from the East—

ASIATIC ARCHERS AND SLINGERS. The Syrians and Palmyrenes, by age-old tradition, are skilled in using the bow, and provide a valuable series of auxiliary corps to the Roman army. The figure in the foreground here is based on a scene from the Dacian Wars (102-106 A.D.), as shown on Trajan's Column. In the background are the slingers, most of whom came from the Balearic Islands. Both bowmen and slingers are partly equipped in Roman fashion while retaining their native weapons.

ASIATIC ARCHERS AND SLINGERS

—Or their Cousins the Camel-Drivers on the Great Roads—

In the upper picture are *dorsarii,* or beasts of burden, of the time of Theodosius, with their conductors. Below, two soldiers of Tiberius rest beside a milestone on the Roman way.

—Arterial Veins of the Empire.

A Message for the Commandant. A messenger has just reached the Commandant's house in an outlying fort. He is heavily cloaked, against bad weather, but delivers his message in an atmosphere of comfort which is by no means exceptional. His long, heavy, hooded cloak (*pœnula*), is closed across the chest, like the North African "burnous." The Commandant wears a light hooded cloak (*lacerna*), shorter than the *pœnula,* over a tunic adorned with two narrow purple bands as a mark of distinction. The *lacerna* is worn in the house instead of the cumbersome *toga,* reserved for out-of-doors.

A MESSAGE FOR THE COMMANDANT

Another useful field-machine, the "tortoise," of Greek origin, used for providing cover while filling up ditches or digging mines. A similar machine was in use throughout the Middle Ages.

AN EMPEROR RECEIVES THE SUBMISSION OF BARBARIAN CHIEFS. The chiefs are doing obeisance in the field to the eagle, the legionary standard. The Emperor sits on a raised platform (*tribunal*) built of turf, and is surrounded by his standards, officers and trumpeters. *Lictors* stand on either side, their *fasces* wreathed with laurels.

AN EMPEROR RECEIVES THE SUBMISSION OF BARBARIAN CHIEFS

—Have Dictated that Patrols by Sea—

Fleet-patrol is an important branch of Roman frontier activity; early instances of naval forces are the Nile and Danube flotillas; later the Channel fleets of Britain and Gaul. This is a sea-going bireme leaving Dover; she carries an emperor across the straits to Gessoriacum (Boulogne). River-boats were smaller.

PATROLLING A NORTH-BRITISH FORT IN WINTER. A winter scene from Hadrian's wall. A member of the corps of Hamian Archers, stationed at Carvoran (Magnae), has turned out for action. Perhaps a hare in the snow is providing a tempting target and the possibility of some warm soup. The soldier wears a thick hooded cloak (*cucullus*) and, over his sandals, rough boots (*perones*) of untanned leather.

PATROLLING A NORTH-BRITISH FORT IN WINTER

The modelled cuirasse with its special sword-belt is the peculiar privilege of high commanders and Emperors. The greatest care is expended upon its production, and it ranks high as an artistic achievement.

—Definitely Organised as in Britain.

A General looks out from Hadrian's Wall. A frontier general, perhaps Platorius Nepos (the builder of the Wall itself) is looking out beyond Hadrian's Wall near Cawfields. In the background is a mile-castle, one of the patrol-stations, which guarded sally-ports through the Wall. These stations enclose two barracks, capable of housing some eighty men.

A GENERAL LOOKS OUT FROM HADRIAN'S WALL

—Later, Indeed, Under Pressure of Invasions—

But frontier-walls, intended to keep out mass-troopers, fail to keep out massed invasions, and this is one of the causes of the disintegration of the Empire. Here such an invader, a German, is asking his way of a ploughman.

THE ENTRY OF CONSTANTINE INTO LONDON. No less dangerous is the tendency of provincial governors to declare themselves Emperors at the head of their armies. One of the most successful revolts is that of Carausius, an admiral of the Channel fleet in Britain. He becomes emperor of Britain for twelve years, and is succeeded by Allectus, but then the central government under Constantius Cæsar recovers the island. The illustration shows the entry of Constantine, son of Constantius, into London (*Londinium*), the biggest town in the Province. Guided by two pages, and followed by his staff, he rides between his life-guards (*Prætoriani*), who are armed only with large round shields and spears. Cavalry line the road; magistrates have come to the gate to receive the Emperor and precede him to the *Forum*. In the background is the northern or Bishop's gate, adorned with garlands.

THE ENTRY OF CONSTANTINE INTO LONDON

—The Dangerous Legionaries and their Weapons are Standardised—

The *pilum* (*d*) gives way before the weapons of the auxiliary army. The *gaesum* (*a*) of Rhaetia, the javelins (*b*) and spears (*c*) of Spain, and the lance (*solliferrum*) (*e*) of Southern Gaul, come into their own.

THE *CATAPHRACTUS* OR ARMOURED CAVALRYMAN. Iron-mailed cavalry, though appearing occasionally in the early Empire, are not tested until the fourth century, when they are used by Maxentius against Constantine. The obvious defects of these "knights" are their weight and lack of mobility when unhorsed; the rider when armed has to be lifted on to his mount. The invention was quite unsuccessful. The armour is of square pieces of iron or brass, overlapping like scales. The whole body of the soldier is covered save that part of the thigh which grips the horse at a spot where there is a break in the animal's armour. The helmet fits closely round the neck, and the face is protected by a visor pierced with many holes.

THE *CATAPHRACTUS* OR ARMOURED CAVALRYMAN

The classic sense of fitness in ornamentation is amply typified by this simple cavalry standard (*vexillum*) of the Trajanic Age (A.D. 98-117), with its purple banner and gold fringe and gilded statue of victory.

THE EMPEROR STARTS THE GAMES. Nothing could be a greater contrast than this Constantian Emperor clad in full insignia, and giving the signal, a dropped kerchief (*mappa*), to start the games. A semi-oriental and barbaric conception of the Emperor has taken the place of the Labouring Hero inspired by duty, conceived by Marcus Aurelius. The consular dress of the Emperor consists of a modification of the *toga* worn with a long tunic, called *tunica palmata.* It is put on like a shawl, both ends crossing over the left shoulder, the longer being brought round from behind and thrown over the left arm. Part of the Imperial Court dress in Byzantium, it became the *pallium* of Christian bishops.

THE EMPEROR STARTS THE GAMES

—From the Older Balanced Dignity—

On the other hand, the truly classic sense of dignity and beauty is well shown by these two helmets from Newstead near Melrose, and Ribchester near Preston, now in Edinburgh and London respectively. Both belong to the end of the first century, when old artistic ideals still possessed much influence.

—To Barbaric Wildness.

Spanish and Frank Auxiliaries. A Spanish cavalryman, a ghost of a former age, is confronted by a fourth century Frankish soldier. The inability of the barbaric army to assimilate classical ideals was to prove one of the potent causes of the ruin of the Ancient World. The Spaniard is drawn from a grave-stone found in Burgundy, now in the Museum at Châlons-sur-Saône. The arms and equipment are similar to those of the horseman described on page 78. The Frankish soldier carries his native weapons—the axe (*francisca*) of peculiar shape worn in the belt is thrown with considerable effect,—a leather helmet reinforced with iron bands, and a cuirasse and thorax, both of skins dressed with the hair outside.

SPANISH AND FRANK AUXILIARIES

—The Last Great General in the West is a Vandal.

STILICHO, A VANDAL, THE ROMAN *MAGISTER UTRIUSQUE MILITIÆ*. Eventually the barbaric army, by which the Empire is defended, is itself unable to stave off its wilder cousins, but there are some valiant efforts. Stilicho, one of the most notable generals of the late Empire, supreme commander of both infantry and cavalry, is a Vandal. In the background of the picture are Hun auxiliaries, clothed in hauberks of mail. In the foreground stand a bodyguard, and a page holding the general's helmet. Stilicho's shield is splendidly decorated, and his helmet bears a crest of red feathers; his tunic and cloak (*paludamentum*) are of gold-embroidered cloth.

STILICHO, A VANDAL, THE ROMAN *MAGISTER UTRIUSQUE MILITIÆ*

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